Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2252

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0369

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FROM MBFR REPRESENTATIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJ: BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET DEPREP OF JULY 3, 1977

1. US DEPREP HAD BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET DEPREP SHUSTOV JULY 3. DISCUSSION TOUCHED ON FOLLOWING POINTS:

2. US DEPREP ASKED SHUSTOV FOR BACKGROUND ON SUGGESTION BY GDR REP IN JUNE 28 INFORMAL THAT WEST SHOULD TABLE ITS UPDATED DATA ON WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER. US DEPREP SAID HE HAD RAISED SAME ISSUE WITH SOVIET REP TARASOV ON JUNE 30 PLENARY ASKING FOR BACKGROUND OF EASTERN THINKING UNDERLYING THIS SUGGESTION AND POINTING OUT THAT WHILE THERE MIGHT BE SOME BENEFITS IN THE PROPOSAL, WEST WOULD BE OFFICIALLY ENGAGING ITS PRESTIGE ON ITS ESTIMATES IF IT TABLED THEM AND THAT SUCH ACTION MIGHT HAVE THE EFFECT OF FURTHER LOCKING BOTH SIDES INTO CONFRONTATION ON DATA. US DEPREP RECALLED THAT TARASOV HAD REPLIED THAT EASTERN IDEA HAD BEEN THAT IF A SPECIFIC WESTERN FIGURE WAS TABLED, THEN ONE COULD ADD TO IT OR DEDUCT FROM IT SPECIFIC FORCES LIKE POLISH COASTAL FORCES WHO WERE IN DISPUTE. US DEP REP ASKED SHUSTOV WHETHER THE EAST HAD IN MIND IN MAKING SECRET

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THIS SUGGESTION A SYSTEMATIC DISCUSSION OF THE TWO FIGURES TABLED BY BOTH SIDES ON WARSAW PACT FORCES WITH PERHAPS SOME DEDUCTIONS BEING MADE FROM THE WESTERN NUMBER AND SOME ADDITIONS BEING MADE TO THE EASTERN NUMBER IN THE COURSE OF THE MORE SPECIFIC PHASE OF DATA DISCUSSION WHICH LAY AHEAD.

3. SHUSTOV RESPONDED THAT THE EAST HAD NOT HAD ANY ARTICULATED

CONCEPT IN MIND IN MAKING THIS SUGGESTION. THE MAIN REASON FOR MAKING IT WAS THAT WESTERN REPS IN REFERRING TO THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER USED DIFFERENT TERMS, SOMETIMES DESCRIBING THE DISCREPANCY AS QUOTE MORE THAN 150,000 UNQUOTE AND SOMETIMES AS QUOTE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE THAN 150,000 UNQUOTE. ONE WOULD GET

RID OF THIS APPARENT ELASTICITY IN ESTIMATES IF WESTERN ESTIMATES WERE TABLED

4. US DEP REP SAID THAT SLIGHT CHANGES IN LANGUAGE USED BY WESTERN REPS DID NOT REFLECT A CONTINUAL PROCESS OF CHANGE IN WESTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER. SHUSTOV STATED, AS HAD TARASOV TO US DEPREP ON JUNE 30, THAT THE EAST DID NOT INTEND TO PURSUE THIS SUGGESTION. HE INDICATED THAT THE INITIATIVE FOR THE SUGGESTION HAD COME FROM THE GDR AND THAT THE SOVIETS HAD AGREED IT COULD BE ADVANCED IN THE INFORMAL WITHOUT ATTACHING GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT.

5. US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT POLISH REP HAD APPARENTLY ALLUDED TO THE WEU TREATY IN HIS JUNE 30 PLENARY STATEMENT AND THAT THE POLISH PRESS SPOKESMAN HAD MENTIONED WEU TREATY SPECIFICALLY IN HIS POST-PLENARY PRESS STATEMENT. SHUSTOV SAID THE POLES WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN WEU. THE SOVIETS WERE LESS INTERESTED. THE SOVIETS DID NOT INTEND TO PRESS THIS ISSUE FURTHER.

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6. US DEPREP ASKED WHETHER SOVIETS HAD IN MIND A SPECIFIC CONCEPT IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATEMENT OF POLISH REP IN JUNE 30 PLENARY THAT THE EAST WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER COMPROMISE STEPS IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM WHICH MIGHT BE CAUSED BY UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS ON ONE SIDE FOLLOWING ENTRY INTO FORCE OF A REDUCTION AGREEMENT. SHUSTOV SAID THE EAST DID NOT INTEND AT THIS TIME TO PUT FORWARD A SPECIFIC OFFICIAL PROPOSAL. IT DID WISH TO PLACE ON THE RECORD AT THIS TIME ITS WILLINGNESS FIND A COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM.

7. SHUSTOV EXPRESSED HOPE THAT IF THE WEST DECIDED ON A NEW DATA PROPOSAL, IT WOULD TABLE THIS PROPOSAL BEFORE THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND SO THAT THE RECESS COULD BE USED TO DISCUSS IT IN MOSCOW AND THE EAST MIGHT HAVE SOME ANSWER READY FOLLOWING THE RECESS RATHER THAN CONSUMING THE NEXT ROUND IN FORMULATING ITS REACTION. US DEPREP SAID THE WEST WAS WORKING ON A PROPOSAL BUT HE COULD NOT SAY WHEN WORK WOULD BE COMPLETED.

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8. US DEPREP ASKED SHUSTOV WHETHER RECENT EASTERN STATEMENTS IN INFORMAL SESSIONS THAT THE EAST HAD NOT INCREASED THE NUMBER OF ITS COMBAT UNITS IN THE REDUCTION AREA WERE BASED ON A PARTICULAR DEFINITION OF COMBAT UNITS AS BEING UNITS OF A CERTAIN SIZE AND WHETHER THE EAST HAD NOT INCREASED ITS UNITS OF SMALLER SIZE. SHUSTOV SAID THAT THE EAST HAD NOT MADE INCREASES IN NUMBER OF EITHER LARGER OR SMALLER UNITS.

9. US DEP REP ASKED SHUSTOV TO DESCRIBE CURRENT VIEWS AMONG SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIALS WITH REGARD TO THE VIENNA FORCE REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS. SHUSTOV SAID THAT THE PREVAILING VIEW WAS SKEPTICISM THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY MOVEMENT IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD. OFFICIALLY, SOVIET AUTHORITIES CONTINUED TO DRAW A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE VIENNA TALKS AND OTHER NEGOTIATIONS AND ISSUES BUT, PSYCHOLOGICALLY, THESE ISSUES COULD NOT BE PREVENTED FROM HAVING AN AFFECT ON THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.

10. SHUSTOV SAID WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS INTENDED TO CLARIFY THEIR POSITION ON PHASE II REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS FOR WESTERN EUROPEANS AND ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS IN FORTHCOMING INFORMAL SECRET

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SESSIONS DURING THE PRESENT ROUND. HE COMMENTED THERE WAS NOT MUCH SELECTIVITY IN A WESTERN POSITION ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS WHEREBY THE SOVIETS WOULD REDUCE AND LIMIT ALL OF THE ARMAMENTS

OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY WHEREAS THE WESTERN EUROPEANS WOULD REDUCE AND LIMIT NO ARMAMENTS. THE ONLY SELECTIVITY INVOLVED WAS BEING EXERCISED BY THE US WITH REGARD TO ITS ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS.

11. SHUSTOV SAID HE HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND SECRETARY VANCE TO INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF MBFR IN THEIR NEXT SCHEDULED MEETING.

12. IN DISCUSSION JULY 5 ON MARGIN OF INFORMAL SESSION CONCERNING THE SOVIET POSITION ON PHASE I COMMITMENTS BY WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN US REGARDING THEIR PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS. SHUSTOV SAID THAT TARASOV'S REMARK IN THE JULY 5 SESSION THAT THESE COMMITMENTS SHOULD BE IN TERMS OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS AND INCLUDE UNITS WITH THEIR ARMAMENTS WAS ONLY A PRESENTATION OF THE SOVIET OFFICIAL VIEW ON THIS SUBJECT. THE SOVIETS WOULD BE PREPARED TO HEAR WESTERN VIEWS ON THE SAME TOPIC. BUT IT WAS NOT LOGICAL TO TRY TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON THE DETAILS OF THE COMMITMENT AT THIS TIME AS LONG AS THE WESTERN VIEW WAS THAT NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD UNDERTAKE NO SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS UNTIL THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS. IF THE WEST CHANGED ITS POSITION ON THIS ISSUE AND STATED ITS READINESS TO UNDERTAKE BINDING COMMITMENTS IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT ON THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS BY THESE PARTICIPANTS, THIS WOULD CREATE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION OF THE SPECIFICS OF SUCH COMMITMENTS. US DEPREP SAID THIS CLARIFICATION HELPED IN UNDERSTANDING THE SOVIET POSITION. BUT IT MADE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WERE WAITING FOR A WESTERN INITIATIVE IN THIS FIELD. IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE SOVIETS TO MAKE THE FIRST MOVE.RESOR

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